



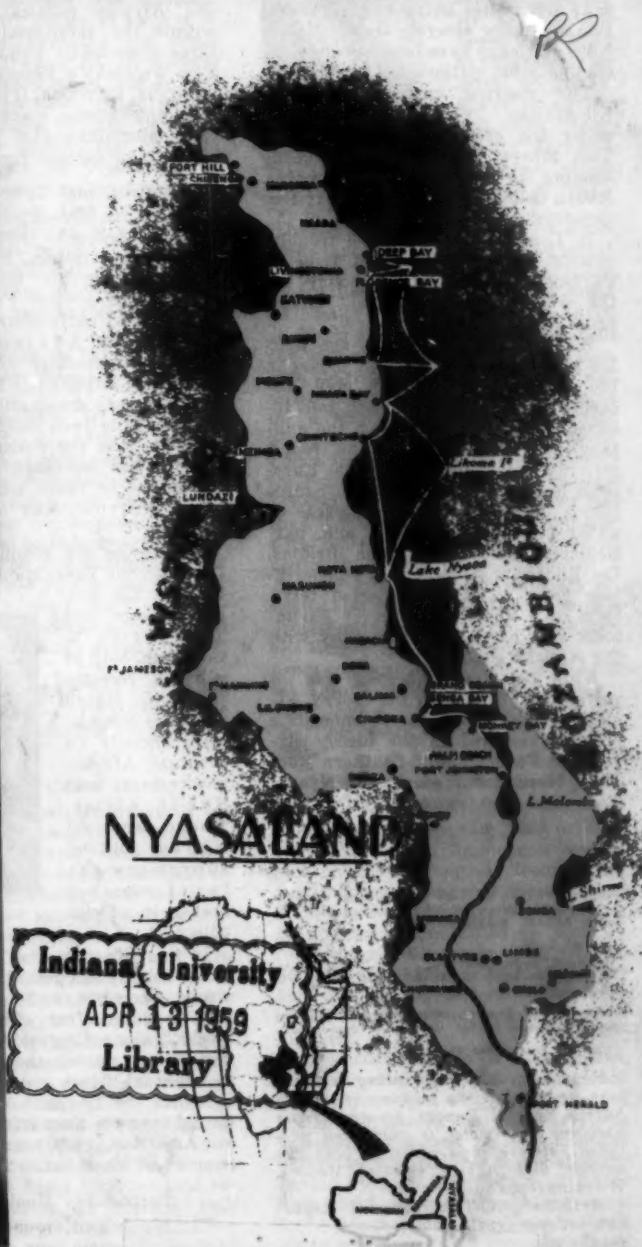
DR. HASTINGS K. BANDA

"We mean to be our own masters. . ."



SIR ROY WELENSKY

"... the stabilizing influence provided by the white man must be preserved."



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Crisis in Central Africa

(See Page Two)

Next Moves Weighed in Nyasaland Turmoil

THE CRISIS resulting from events in Nyasaland is one of the gravest facing any part of Africa today. The continued existence of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, at least in its present form, has come into question, and relations between Africans and whites living in the Federation are being severely tested. Nearly 1,000 Africans have been arrested, including most nationalist leaders.

The steering committee of the All-African People's Conference, under the chairmanship of Kenya's Tom Mboya, planned an emergency meeting to discuss support moves. Mboya called it "a matter of extreme urgency."

In London, the Nyasaland troubles quickly became the biggest issue in Parliament, and British policy for the whole of "multi-racial" Africa came under searching review.

Whitehall, Commons and the British press pondered the next moves in the wake of an African civil disobedience campaign, a death toll approaching 50 resulting from the military suppression by Rhodesian troops, reported determination by local European leaders to turn the disturbances into a "showdown," unwillingness of either side to compromise, and, particularly rankling to some Britons, the Rhodesian Government's deportation from a British-protected territory, of a British Member of Parliament who had shown sympathy with the African cause.

While the Kenya question was involved peripherally in the thorny African dilemma, Britain's immediate problem centered in the nearly six-year-old Federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The first named territory has

been a colony under local European rule since 1923 and is self-governing in most matters. The latter two have protectorate status under the Colonial Office, with Britain retaining police and internal security powers as well as authority over African land rights, and African political advancement, within the territorial spheres. All three come under Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky's Federal Government in areas in which it has authority, including defense, many financial matters, determination of Federal voting rights, and certain foreign relations.

Constitutional Talks Scheduled

With a conference scheduled to take place in London in 1960 to review the Federal constitution, European leaders, including Sir Roy, have been pressing for greater Federal authority, with an early grant of complete independence. African nationalist leaders, particularly in the northern territories, citing their fear of perpetual European domination under such a plan, have been intensifying their demands that the Federation be broken up and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland be taken out and allowed to go their own way under African rule.

The issues are complicated by the fact that the Federation lies squarely between the Belgian Congo and Tanganyika to the north, both of which recently joined the march of states committed officially to eventual African government, and South Africa, where perpetual white political supremacy, at least over key areas, is official policy.

In this situation, the London *Economist* soberly suggested on March 7, wrong decisions could split Africa into "hard-and-fast white and black blocks," along Central Africa's Zambezi River, raising the possibility of an eventual "black versus white war" in which the Russians "could always outbid even the most left-wing British or American government" in their support of black nationalism.

'Partnership' Goal Stated

The Nyasaland troubles have been brewing for some time, in fact as far back as 1953 when isolated rioting marred its incorporation into the Federation. At that time, combination of the three states was put forward in London and Salisbury as a mutually beneficial linkup of Southern Rhodesian know-how, Northern Rhodesian

copper and Nyasaland labor. Politically it was seen as a way to prevent Southern Rhodesia from drifting into the South African racial orbit, while providing, meanwhile, a way of gradually bringing Western civilization and Western benefits to 7,000,000 Africans under the leadership and guidance of the Europeans, who now number 275,000. Keystone of the constitution was the concept of racial "partnership."

Britain further pledged that the protectorate status of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would be preserved so long as the majority of their inhabitants desired it. This would, it was asserted, preclude a grant of Dominion Status to the Federation without African consent, although Africans later became suspicious that territorial legislative councils might be rigged in such a way that apparent consent could be obtained.

Economically, the Federation has made remarkable strides. Heavy foreign investment and a period of high copper prices resulted in the fastest rate of economic growth of any country in the world. Nyasaland, it is estimated, benefits by some \$12,000,000 a year from her federal ties.

Discrimination Remains

Politically and socially, however, progress has been slower. Although Southern Rhodesia claims the highest rate of African child education in Africa (480,000 or 85%), and impressive gains are being made throughout the Federation in such areas as health and agriculture, the "pinpricks"—or worse—remain: discrimination in shops and public places, job color bar, differential wages, limited opportunities for secondary and university education, highly restrictive Federal and territorial franchises, with an effective political voice regarded not as a right but as a privilege to be exercised by persons with a "reasonable" level of income or education.

Meanwhile, Sir Roy has stressed the maintenance of "civilized standards," and lately, "white standards," and the future has remained unclear. Some Europeans have insisted that they could work out a multi-racial system if the country were not subjected to a lot of "irresponsible pressures" from outside.

Unfortunately, however, all the pressure has not come from outside. During 1958, Africans were disturbed by the rise of the white-supremacy minded Dominion Party and the ouster of Southern Rhodesia's relatively liberal Prime Minister, Garfield Todd, both of which events indicated a rightward swing in European attitudes at the same time Europeans were pushing for freedom



ARMITAGE

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from British controls in 1960. Meanwhile the upsurge of nationalism elsewhere on the continent had its impact on both races, although the Europeans, paradoxically, were inclined to emphasize its dangers while dismissing the depth of its hold.

Banda Returns

Into this scene in mid-1958 came Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, 54, a Nyasaland-born African who left home at the age of 13, walked barefoot 1,000 miles to Johannesburg, earned enough working in the goldfields to come to the United States, completed his high schooling at Wilberforce, Ohio, studied medicine at the University of Chicago, moved on after 12 years to the University of Edinburgh, then set up a successful medical practice in the London suburbs and finally moved to Ghana in 1953—the year of Federation.

Returning last year to head the Nyasaland African National Congress, he toured the countryside, condemning Federation and spurring the clamor for independence. Meanwhile, the colonial administration, committed to announcing and implementing a new constitution by April 1960, was faced with the problem that if it acceded to Banda's demands for a legislative majority, or even gave Congress an effective voice, Congress would promptly present a resolution for withdrawal from the Federation. So, while Northern Rhodesia's new constitution was announced last fall, resulting in this month's elections, Nyasaland negotiations dragged on; the Colonial Secretary's decision is awaited still.

In September, meanwhile, the first Federal elections were held. In Nyasaland, according to the *Central African Examiner*, published in Salisbury, these resulted in the return, as Federal M.P.'s, of "some low-calibre European reactionaries and four African nonentities (because of the effective African Congress boycott)."

At the same time, it was reported, a tactical split widened in Congress and Banda found himself opposed by two former ANC presidents, two former African Federal M.P.'s and three of the five African members of the Nyasaland Legislative Council. These men, like the administration, were said to be finding that "Banda is impetuous and inconsistent, has no political experience and is inclined to be autocratic."

But, the *Examiner* added, "Banda's support is rooted in the crowd," and since the "whole of African nationalism in Nyasaland revolves around the premise of secession," it would be wishful thinking to expect the Africans to split on this question.

Unrest Mounts

Unrest continued to build up, incidents occurred, and some Europeans rushed to buy pistols. The *Examiner* said in its Dec. 6 lead editorial:

"Some settlers . . . are talking about using [the contentious issue of federalizing non-African agriculture in Nyasaland] to 'trigger off' what they euphemistically call 'a showdown' with Nyasaland African nationalism . . . [They may attempt to] convince the Federal Government by the following devilish argument: a 'showdown' has got to come with both African nationalism and the Colonial Office. All right! Better to have it in the coming rainy season and while the Banda-Chirwa split is hurting Congress. It would mean that federal troops would be flown in (after all that was the point of that 'dry run' exercise a few months ago [Federal troop maneuvers in Nyasaland in September]), and once the troops are there, why should they leave. This would be a quick way to get Dominion Status and haven't the British Tories (and Socialists) confessed privately to us that they wished they were quit of responsibility for the Protectorates?"

"This argument is being seriously put forward in Blantyre, and it is dynamite . . ."

In late December, Dr. Banda returned from the All-African People's Conference in Accra, shouting "the European has had his opportunity to lead the Africans and has lost it," and reiterating his determination to lead Nyasaland to independence: "We intend to be our own masters in our own house in our own country on our continent of Africa." At the conference, African leadership condemned the Federation and called for its dissolution.

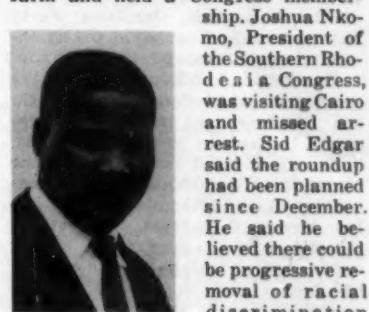
The power struggle was hardening, and by late February Nyasaland came into the world headlines. These were the developments:

Troops Called In

Feb. 20. African disturbances occurred at four separate points in Nyasaland, after two weeks of what Government spokesmen described as planned civil disobedience in the form of unauthorized meetings and demonstrations. The Nyasaland Governor, Sir Robert Armitage (who had been in charge in Cyprus when the troubles broke out there), announced that his own forces were not adequate to cope with the developing situation. Meeting in Salisbury with Sir Roy Welensky and Governor Arthur Benson of Northern Rhodesia, Gov. Armitage called for assistance from the Federal Government, and the airlift of more than 3,000 African and white troops began. United Press International reported circulation of reports that Africans were plotting a Mau-Mau type massacre.

Feb. 26. Prime Minister Sir Edgar Whitehead proclaimed a state of emergency in Southern Rhodesia and began a roundup of some 500 African Congress members and one European interracialist, Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock, who operated a cooperative mission

farm and held a Congress membership.



NKOMO

and more opportunities should be open for Africans, but extreme nationalism on either side could wreck the concept of multi-racial development.

In Nyasaland, meanwhile, disturbances continued throughout the length of the territory, and three Africans were killed in police efforts to break up hostile crowds. In the far north, at Karonge and Fort Hill, Africans put two airfields out of commission with barrels and tree trunks, and seized control of the Fort Hill area for a week, blocking the only road between Nyasaland and Tanganyika. Police from Tanganyika moved across the border to reopen the road Feb. 28.

Local Europeans (who number less than 7,000 in Nyasaland, compared with more than 2,500,000 Africans) anxiously urged proclamation of a state of emergency, and Salisbury officials also reportedly expected such a proclamation to be made. However, on March 1, Gov. Armitage told a press conference he could not divulge his future plans and added ambiguously that a state of emergency was "not necessary to deal with dissidents."

Emergency Proclaimed

March 3. Gov. Armitage proclaimed a state of emergency, and ordered the arrest of Dr. Banda and several hundred other Congress leaders, flying Banda and many of the others to Salisbury for detention. Within hours, 26 Africans were killed as security forces opened fire on surging crowds. Some of the Africans took up knives and spears; Government forces were backed by rifles, sten guns and Vampire jets.

In another March 3 development, the Welensky Government deported John Stonehouse, visiting member of the British parliament (Labour), who had been criticized for his remarks before an African crowd in Salisbury (avoid violence, but "lift your heads high and behave as though the country belongs to you"). Due to visit Nyasaland, he was instead placed aboard a plane in Northern Rhodesia and sent to Tanganyika.

March 11. The Southern Rhodesian Government introduced a bill to banish African congresses in the territory and give severe repressive powers to the police and officials.

Both European liberals and members of the Opposition Dominion Party were reportedly incensed at the harshness of the measures.

March 12. Gov. Benson banned the Zambia National Congress in Northern Rhodesia and said its leaders would be sent to their tribal areas.

Zambia split off last fall from the original African National Congress led by Harry Nkumbula, and has been trying to enforce a boycott of the March 20 elections, while Nkumbula's group, taking the other tack, has been trying to whip up a large vote and capture the African seats. Both groups call for independence. Zambia is led by Kenneth Kaunda, a vegetarian and former Presbyterian minister who is a growing favorite among other Pan-African nationalists. Like Dr. Banda, he disclaims



KAUNDA

violence as a tactic. Gov. Benson said Zambia was intimidating Africans, in the style of Chicago gangsters to keep them from voting. After the banning, African mobs set fires in Lusaka, the territorial capital, and several African deaths were later reported.

By mid-March the disturbances appeared to have subsided in Nyasaland, although sullen groups gathered about the British tea estates near Mlanje in the south, and Government spokesmen estimated it would take some time to restore control in the North. The death toll neared 50, all Africans.

Stormy Debates in U. K.

The swiftly moving events aroused a furor in Britain. At first glance, some of the happenings appeared to reflect a decline of British power vis-a-vis the Welensky Government—a development which could heighten the African sense of insecurity. In Parliament, angry Labour members questioned Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd closely on Welensky's deportation of fellow member Stonehouse, the use of Welensky's troops over British regulars, the Nyasaland Governor's declaration of emergency 24 hours after he seemed to say such a move would not be necessary, the deportation of Banda to Southern Rhodesia rather than some neutral spot ("absolutely crazy—it gives the impression of total abnegation of responsibility on the part of her Majesty's Government," said Lord Boothby).

On the deportation question, the MacMillan Government took the position that Sir Roy Welensky was acting legally, through his powers to control immigration. The London *Times* noted, however, that the move might cost Welensky dearly in the end. On the state of emergency

the Government insisted that Sir Robert Armitage acted on his own judgment and did not yield to pressure from Salisbury. As for Banda's detention in Salisbury, it was stressed that he remains under Governor Armitage's control.

Plots Alleged

But the Government's major line of defense was that an African plot had been uncovered to undertake large scale massacres, and this was the underlying reason for firm action in Nyasaland. Neither details nor the source were disclosed, but the report seemed to center in what was alleged to have transpired at a secret meeting of nationalists in the Nyasaland bush which, as the story goes, Dr. Banda did not attend. More specifics came from the Welensky Government, which said the plan was for a program of civil disobedience, followed by riots, followed by selective murders, followed by full-scale massacres of Africans, Asians and Europeans.

The British Government stuck by the "black plot" story, while a skeptical Opposition and a large segment of the press suggested that what was really involved was a "white plot." Later, Sir Roy Welensky injected the idea of a "red plot," saying Nyasaland leaders had been in contact with Russian observers at the December African conference. A report also emanated from Salisbury that the skillful African operations in Nyasaland's northern province were directed by a Communist-trained African "general."

Labour members demanded an inquiry and called for a parliamentary commission to visit Nyasaland and assure the people that Britain did not intend to abrogate its responsibilities to Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Julian Amery, Colonial Office Undersecretary, insisted that "we have never departed from the pledges given at the time when Federation was introduced," but on March 10 the Government agreed to meet with Labour and Liberal leaders to discuss plans for an impartial inquiry into what had happened in Nyasaland.

Meanwhile, relations grew increasingly strained between Labour and the Welensky Government, diminishing



WHITEHEAD

such an eventuality.

the prospects for harmonious negotiations if Labour should be in power at the time of the 1960 constitutional talks. There were some in London who suspected the Welensky Government had moved in Nyasaland in order to strengthen its hand for just

ill will between Labourites and white Rhodesians has existed for some time. Expressing concern over "aggravated race tensions" under the Welensky government, Labourites insist that African nationalism must be recognized and allowed to develop through constructive channels, and that it must be made clear the Federation will not be given dominion status until Africans have achieved full democratic rights. The Rhodesians accuse Labour of endangering the stability of the Federation by encouraging Africans to look to London, and a Labour victory, for their salvation.

British Policy Surveyed

As the infighting continued, the British press, while generally emphasizing the need to restore law and order, began to urge long-term proposals for a reassessment of policy in multi-racial Africa.

Taking a position which seemed unmindful of the continental objectives of African nationalists, the *Times* said the middle area of Africa is likely to remain "the most inflammable on the continent" until the dividing line between the northern group of African-dominated states and the southern group of European-dominated ones "is finally demarcated."

Later, the *Times* advocated the dispatch of an impartial commission and called for development of Nyasaland as an African state within the Federation.

The *Economist* also advocated retention of Nyasaland as a black state within the Federation, and warned that the political and economic consequences of breaking up the Federation would be disastrous. The publication said, however, that "far from pretending that more independence can be granted to the Federation in 1960, it would be better to start discussing powers that should be restored by the federal government to the territories."

The *Manchester Guardian* observed that behind the front political lines in Africa, the opposed voices rise "higher, harsher and more self-righteous," and that on both sides the underlying root of these attitudes was fear for the future.

Noting that "there are still far too few African statesmen or civil servants . . . able to conduct the affairs of a country just emerging from poverty and backwardness into the light of the 20th Century, the *Guardian* called for retention of British control until the "diffusion of political power" among all races has reached an advanced stage. This "diffusion" might not take a long time, but it "should not proceed so rapidly that a more civilized group be, as a unit, submerged by a less civilized." In the meantime, the principle of keeping political advance in step with cul-

(Continued on page 16)

NEWS ROUNDUP

KENYA PROSCRIBES 2 PAPERS, ARRESTS 34 AFRICANS

The Kenya Government, obviously jittery over possible local ramifications of inter-racial crises in nearby territories, took three steps on March 6 which it hopes will reduce the invective being exchanged among partisan racial groups in Nairobi:

- The weekly Independent, published by retired Air Commodore E. L. Howard Williams and his new Kenya European Congress, representing the most extreme of the white settler views, was proscribed for repeatedly issuing "inflammatory articles and highly offensive cartoons which could have no effect other than to excite racial hatred."
- Uhuru, weekly organ of Tom Mboya's People's Convention Party, was also ordered to suspend publication, because of its repeated failure to respond to official warnings against publishing material "exalting those who organized Mau Mau.... and calculated to inflame hostile emotional passions against other races."
- Thirty-four Africans, most of them leading members of the People's Convention Party, were taken into custody on charges of indulging in a "calculated campaign, including acts of intimidation, aimed at undermining all lawful authority, particularly the authority of those Africans whose duty it is to assist in maintenance of law and order in the colony"

The list of Africans arrested includes Elijah Omolo Agar, organizing secretary of the Nairobi People's Convention Party and editor of Uhuru; Joseph Mathenge, the party's general secretary; and Sammy Maina, secretary of the women's wing. Mr. Mathenge was detained at the office of Tom Mboya, president of the party. Most of the men detained are being exiled from Nairobi to their tribal reserves. Included are members of the Kikuyu, Embu, Meru, and Kamba tribes.

Meanwhile, there was speculation in Nairobi pointing to possible "trouble" in Kenya by June unless the government reconsiders its rejection of the call by Africans and Asians for a formal conference to discuss liberalization of the controversial Lennox-Boyd Constitution. African elected members of the Legislative Council continue their boycott of LEGCO sessions, begun in November.

MALI: SOME SLIPS "TWIXT THE CUP AND THE LIP"

The Federation of Mali, enthusiastically launched in January by the Premiers of four self-governing West African republics of the French Community, has become mired down in the internal politics of three of the four founding territories. Dahomey and the Voltaic Republic (formerly Upper Volta) have now re-

considered and decided not to adhere. Senegalese adherence depends on the outcome of the hotly-contested general election of March 22, in which the principal issue is Mali. This leaves only the Soudan as a firm prospect.

Premier Sourou Migan Apithy of Dahomey advised his Parliament against a Mali tie at this time. He decided, he said, that the new federation would create too strong a central government at the expense of its members. Premier Maurice Yameogo of Volta said on March 1 that his government still favored the principle of African unity, but did not want to have to choose "between Dakar and Abidjan." This is taken to mean that his government was under strong pressure from Ivory Coast Prime Minister Houphouet-Boigny, stout advocate of direct, individual ties with France, to keep out of Mali.

Although the government of Premier Mamadou Dia of Senegal remains committed to the new federation, Senegal's powerful Marabouts, heads of Moslem religious orders, are reportedly willing to go to considerable length to unseat Dia in the general elections of March 20. They have organized a political party, led by the dissident President of the present Senegal Territorial Assembly, Ibrahim Seydou N'Daw, and there are recurrent rumors of a possible electoral alliance with the extreme left-wing opposition in Senegal. About the only issue on which the Marabouts and the leftists agree is that federation is to be avoided: the most important issue of the election.

GENERAL ABOUD WEATHERS SUDANESE CRISIS

There seems to be little substance to support the widespread press speculation that the March 4-9 crisis in the governing junta of the Sudan grew out of a split between pro and anti-UAR elements, or that the new alignment necessarily indicates a swing toward Cairo. Internal issues, involving largely army politics, appear to have sparked the shake-up. All the participants are senior army officers.

The newly-constituted Supreme Council, sworn in on March 9 in Khartoum, includes the names of the three Provincial Commanders who made a "show of strength" in Khartoum on March 4 to point up their desire for a role in the governing process. General Abboud's calm acceptance of their "demands" suggests that he may have been well-briefed in advance. The most spectacular development was the decision to strip General Ahmad Abdal Wahab, one of the triumvirate of generals chiefly responsible for the November 13 coup, and generally considered the strong man of the regime, of his duties as Minister of Interior and as a member of the Supreme Council. (Unconfirmed reports indicate 44-year old Wahab may also have been "retired" from the Army). Four other generals were also dropped from the Council, two of them Wahab protégés. Sec-

NEWS ROUNDUP

ulation on the reasons behind Wahab's ouster leads in two directions: (1) that he was becoming too ambitious and/or stepping on too many toes; or (2) that Abboud removed him as part of an effort to reduce religious sectarian pressures on his government. Wahab is close to the leader of the Moslem sect, Ansar, long a powerful influence in Sudan politics.

CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCES FOR TANGANYIKA

Far-reaching constitutional changes for Tanganyika, including creation of a Council of Ministers by July 1 and increased unofficial representation in the Legislative Council, were announced by Governor Richard Turnbull March 17.

BRAZZAVILLE RIOTS ARE INTER-TRIBAL

The riots which, according to official count, left 120 dead in Brazzaville, capital of the new Congo Republic, during late February were neither racial nor nationalist in origin. The fighting was entirely between two rival, tribally-based Congolese political groups -- the Democratic Union Party, headed by Prime Minister Fulbert Youlou and based on the Balali tribe; and the Congo People's Party, headed by Deputy Jacques Opangault and comprised largely of members of the M'Bouchi tribe. The immediate issue was Premier Youlou's refusal to hold elections to pick the new Assembly called for under the terms of General Charles de Gaulle's new constitution.

The People's Party set February 15 as a deadline for an election announcement, threatening civil war if it were not made. Reportedly, Premier Youlou countered by issuing firearms to 500 of his Balali followers and ignoring the ultimatum. With the passage of the deadline, the M'Bouchi and Balali clashed. French troops have restored order, and Brazzaville is heavily garrisoned. Premier Youlou has announced that he now favors elections for a new Assembly and will announce a date as soon as he has assurances that the opposition will help maintain an atmosphere of calm. Some 500 M'Bouchi, including opposition leader Opangault, were taken into custody.

BELGIANS MOVE AHEAD WITH REFORMS IN CONGO

The Belgian Government, obviously bent on keeping the initiative, took two important steps this month to carry forward its promised reforms in the Congo:

- The unprecedented appointment of an African advisory council to work with the Governor General of the Congo.
- A firm warning that any white persons in the Congo who treat Africans as inferiors will henceforth run the risk of being expelled from the Congo.

KENYATTA SAYS HIS ARREST WAS "FOOLISH"

Jomo Kenyatta, brought from prison in Kenya's northern frontier district to appear

as a defense witness in the trial of R.M. Macharia -- an African charged with having sworn a false affidavit regarding testimony which helped to convict Kenyatta in 1952 -- has described his own arrest as "an act of foolishness" by the Kenya Government.

In testimony given on March 4 at Kitale in the White Highlands, where the magistrate's court moved from Nairobi to hear Kenyatta, the former leader of the Kenya African Union declared that he had been doing his best to control Mau Mau, but that after his arrest he had no longer any power to restrain it. In reply to questioning from Defense Attorney D.N. Pritt, Kenyatta said the government had never appealed to him personally or to the Kenya African Union to try to fight Mau Mau, and had hindered what little opportunity they had to introduce a moderating influence by denying them permission to hold meetings in many places.

UNIVERSITY RECOMMENDED FOR EAST AFRICA

A special six-man working party on higher education in East Africa has recommended the establishment of an inter-racial university for East Africa and university colleges in Kenya and Tanganyika. The report, issued February 26 by the Colonial Office, suggests that the Royal Technical College in Nairobi should be transformed without delay into a university college serving all of East Africa; that another inter-territory college should be opened in Tanganyika by 1965-66; and that a University of East Africa, empowered to grant its own degrees, should be created by 1966. The working group, headed by Dr. J. F. Lodge, Vice-Chancellor of London University, points out that these institutions will depend upon heavy grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds.

TITO VISITS ETHIOPIA, SUDAN

Marshal Tito concluded a two-week visit to Ethiopia and the Sudan on February 21 which resulted in new economic, diplomatic, and cultural ties with these independent African States.

A joint declaration issued in Khartoum announced that Yugoslavia will help the Sudan by providing credits for the purchase of machinery and equipment for processing industries, such as sugar and tanning. Diplomatic representation is to be stepped up to the embassy level; cultural delegations are to be exchanged; and General Abboud has accepted an invitation to visit Yugoslavia.

In Addis Ababa, Emperor Haile Selassie and the Yugoslav President had a meeting of minds on the necessity for co-existence, cessation of nuclear tests, and organized international economic assistance without strings. Trade and technical exchanges between Yugoslavia and Ethiopia have been growing steadily in the past few years.

--by Helen Kitchen

BACKGROUND TO INDEPENDENCE

The Cameroons

By MICHAEL CROWDER

THE INDEPENDENCE for which members of the outlawed UPC (*Union des Populations du Cameroun*) resorted to arms, is now to be achieved peacefully by the French Cameroons on 1st January 1960. With a population of 3,173,000, the French Cameroons is the largest sector of the old German territory of Kamerun, which was divided between France and Britain by the League of Nations, at the end of the First World War.

Like the adjoining British Cameroons and neighboring Nigeria, it is diverse in its regions and inhabitants. The savannah north, populated by muslim Fulanis and a multiplicity of pagan tribes, contrasts sharply with the forests of the south, whose inhabitants are predominantly of Bantu origin and much affected by Christianity. The administrative system of the north, which is divided into a series of chiefdoms known as Sultanates or Lamidats, makes an interesting comparison with traditional French hostility to indirect rule. However the French have never allowed even the most important of their Sultans to retain power on the scale of the Emirs of Northern Nigeria.

The administrative system of the south is little different from that of other French African territories: direct rule by the administration, slowly being devolved onto democratically elected local government councils.

Parties Not Developed

In the French Cameroons, however, political parties are much less devel-

oped than in other French African territories. While the highly organized French African parties PRA (*Partie du Regroupement Africain*) and RDA (*Rassemblement Démocratique Africain*) form the government or opposition parties in every territory of French Black Africa save Mauretania, they do not have a foothold in the French Cameroons. The present government of M. Ahmadou Ahidjo is little more than a coalition of groups of deputies in the Legislative Assembly.

One observer, seeking to explain this absence of recognizable political parties, accused the French of trying to regionalize what parties did exist, and in the time of M. Andre M'Bida, first Premier of the Cameroons, it is true that there were discernible regional groups in the Assembly based on the north, the west, the coast and the center. However, when M. Ahidjo succeeded M. M'Bida in February 1958, he formed a government with ministers drawn from every region, and from nearly every political group. M. Ahidjo is a reserved Fulani from the north, while his Vice-Premier is an ebullient Christian from the south.

Another explanation for the absence

of a large party like PRA or RDA in the French Cameroons can be sought in the special status of the territory, which prevented it from being administered in a great ensemble like French Equatorial Africa. Cameroonians themselves have always been conscious of their special status, and more especially of their German past, which is a factor that counts much in their demands for reunification.

UPC Outlawed

Finally, the only real party which did emerge in the French Cameroons, the UPC, was outlawed in July 1955 because of the violence of its methods and its suspected Communist sympathies. Its aims of independence and reunification were considered quite revolutionary at that time, though today they are the policy of Ahidjo's government. The suppression of this party, and its subsequent armed revolt, undoubtedly cramped the growth of other parties. When it was banned, three of its leaders, including Dr. Moumie, fled to the British Cameroons. The late Secretary-General, Ruben Um Nyobé, hid in the forests of the Sanaga-Maritime district, where, after the failure of his attempts to form an anti-imperialist front from the many political groups of the Cameroons, he started a rebellion against the French in December 1956. This rebellion troubled the country right through 1957 and 1958. Another type of attack was launched on the Cameroons administration from Cairo, where Dr. Moumie, who was expelled from the British Cameroons by the administration, gained the support of Colonel Nasser and Cairo radio for his party's cause.

Troops Brought In

The accession of M. Andre M'Bida to power as first premier in May, 1957, saw the use of troops from French Equatorial Africa to deal with the rebellion. However, when M. Ahidjo succeeded him, policy was changed from repression to conciliation. A conditional amnesty was offered the rebels, many of whom left

(Continued on next page)



A street scene in Yaoundé, capital of the French Cameroons.

UN Approves Independence January 1

THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY approved independence in January 1960 for the French-administered Trusteeship Territory of the Cameroons in a resolution passed by a vote of 56-0 with 23 abstentions, March 13. The resolution expressed confidence that elections would be scheduled as soon as possible after the independence date and recommended that the French Cameroons be admitted to UN membership upon attainment of independence in 1960.

Countries voting in favor of the resolution included the U.S., Britain, France, India, Belgium, Liberia, Ethiopia, the Sudan, and the Union of South Africa.

Countries abstaining included the Soviet bloc, Ghana, Guinea, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and the UAR. They protested that the resolution did not provide for new elections before the independence date. Earlier, the Trusteeship Committee defeated an amendment which would have had the effect of reconstituting as a legal political body the UPC party (*Union des Populations du Cameroun*), outlawed in July 1955.

The General Assembly also passed a resolution providing for plebiscites to be held in the northern and southern sections of the British Cameroons, to determine the future of that Trusteeship Territory.



General view of the hydro-electric dam at Edea, French Cameroons. The dam supplies electricity to the 45,000-ton-capacity aluminum plant, which processes alumina imported from France.

(Continued from preceding page)
the forests and returned to their villages. Furthermore, Ahidjo stole much of their thunder by declaring, apparently with French approval, "Our primary task is to bring France to determine with us the conditions for our country's accession to independence." He also made it his aim to achieve reunification of the Cameroons. This differed greatly from M. M'Bida's policy favoring interdependence with France and the postponement of the reunification issue.

However, the effective end of the rebellion came with the death of Ruben Um Nyobé at the hands of a military patrol last September. Without their very capable leader, all the rebels had to fight for was "immediate independence," when independence would come within fifteen months anyway.

By December, well over 2,000 rebels had taken advantage of the amnesty, and the French Authorities were sufficiently confident to withdraw most of the troops. On January 1st, the rebellion was brought within the province of the Cameroons government, under the terms of their accession to internal autonomy.

Though the rebellion appears ended, there is undoubtedly a large number of Cameroonians sympathetic to the non-violent wing of the party, and it may well be that the first effective, legitimate party in the French Cameroons will be formed from these elements.

Reunification Issue

The other large issue that colors Cameroons politics today is the question of reunification of the two sectors of the Cameroons.

All politically-minded French Cameroonians want reunification, and many of them become very emotional on this issue.

In the British Cameroons, however, the population is divided on the question. The party advocating secession from the Nigerian Federation, and favoring some form of reunification, the Kamerun National Democratic Party, (KNDP) has its main strength in Bamenda Province. In the Southern Province, the government alliance between Kamerun National Congress

and Kamerun People's Party, which proposes to remain in the Federation, finds its greatest support. In January of this year, the KNDP won a close victory in the Southern Cameroons first elections under universal suffrage, increasing the likelihood of secession.

This election was not decisive, however, since the Southern Cameroons is expected to vote in a UN plebiscite as to whether it wishes to join an independent Nigeria, preserve a separate identity, or participate in an independent and reunified Cameroons. The Vice Premier of the French Cameroons has said he is "convinced" that "our brothers of the British Cameroons will want to join with us in a new Cameroons and forget the false division made after the 1914-1918 war."

French Aid Poured In

One obvious attraction in joining the French Cameroons is the very considerable economic progress it has made over the past ten years. Since the war, the French have poured money into the territory through FIDES, their special fund for the development of overseas territories. This fund is devoted to the improvement of communications, educational and medical facilities in backward territories of overseas France. Since 1948, the French Cameroons has benefited from it to the order of \$280,000,000. Two spectacular monuments to the work of this fund are the modern port and the one-and-a-half-mile long bridge at Douala.

One of the main drawbacks to independence will be the possible loss of French economic aid, which might result in the severe economic difficulties Guinea has experienced.

The budget of 1957, which was largely supported by France, was \$53,000,000. Export and import figures for 1955 and 1956 give a further idea of the extent of this support. In 1955, imports were valued at \$84,000,000 while exports were only \$75,600,000. In 1956 the gap was greater. Imports were worth \$77,000,000 while exports were only \$61,600,000. Before internal autonomy, France paid for the administration of the French Camer-

oons. Now it is to be paid for by the Cameroons itself.

To lighten this extra burden, the French, it is said, are making a block grant to help the government pay for its administration. It is reasons such as these that may well lead the government to become an associated state of the Franco-African Community after independence.

Agriculture and Aluminum

The economy of the French Cameroons is basically agricultural. Its most important crops are cocoa, with an average annual export of 55,000 tons, and bananas, the cultivation of which is largely in the hands of Europeans (15,000 tons.) In addition timber, tobacco, coffee, and groundnuts are exported.

Industry is limited, although at Edea, on the river Sanaga, a hydro-electric dam supplies cheap electricity to the French Community's most modern aluminum plant, with a capacity of 45,000 tons per annum. There is a possibility that another dam will be built further up-stream and double the capacity of the plant. Another spectacular industry is the sawmill at Eseka, which is also claimed as one of the most modern in the world.

Apart from these the Cameroons boasts a large brewery, a cigarette factory, a small factory producing aluminum pots and pans, groundnut and palm oil mills, soap factories and, at Dizangere, a rubber factory. Gold is produced in small quantities by a European concern and a cooperative of African miners. Rutile used to be an important export, but slackening of world demand has reduced output to nothing.

Great hopes lie in the large bauxite reserves near the rail head at Nkongsamba. Though they would be difficult to exploit, their 45% alumina content and their proximity to a railway line make them an attractive investment. Their transformation into alumina would be facilitated by the large supplies of natural gas near Douala.

There are also some large iron ore reserves on the coast near Kribi and Campo. Though these have an iron ore content of only 40%, they would be simple to exploit, and transport would present no difficulties, as the reserves are only seven miles from the sea.

Education Stressed

A further difficulty in regard to independence will be the lack of Cameroonian officials to occupy places at present held by French officials. Fortunately the French Cameroons is one of the most highly Africanized of French African territories, so that independence will be a little easier than it would be for a territory like French Niger.

Though there are many European officials, traders, and clerks, Cameroonians seem to play a large part in the administrative and economic

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United States Diplomat Discusses: "THE CHALLENGE OF THE HOUR"

The following is the condensed text of an address by The Hon. Joseph C. Satterthwaite, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, before the Southern Assembly at Biloxi, Mississippi, on January 17.

THE YEAR 1958 alone marked a major milestone in African historical development. Let us consider some of these developments, review certain aspects of the African political and economic situation today, and note pertinent United States policies affecting this continent.

The pattern of the new Africa is unfolding rapidly. Although it will be strikingly different from the old, its future is almost beyond conjecture. One thing is certain: Americans must understand the vast political potential of this colossal continent, almost four times the size of our own country. To do so, they must sympathetically appreciate the legitimate aspirations of Africa's 220,000,000 people.

We can perhaps understand some of these aspirations by reviewing for a few moments the resolutions of the non-governmental, but important, All-African Peoples Conference, held at Accra, Ghana, from December 8-12, 1958. Some 170 delegates from 62 organizations and parties in 28 independent or dependent African territories attended this significant meeting, joined by another 130 fraternal delegates and observers from non-African territories, including the United States, the Soviet Union and Communist China.

Vice President Nixon sent a message of greetings to Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana, the con-

ference host, and among the 25 American observers and fraternal delegates present were Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., of Detroit, Michigan, and Mr. Mason Sears, United States Representative on the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

Resolved: Self-government

Although some of the resolutions and statements made at the Accra sessions are controversial it is evident that the resolutions generally reflect African aspirations for self-government and economic and social progress and a deep seated opposition to colonialism and racial discrimination. Such attitudes on the part of African political delegates are understandable and are feelings with which Americans can legitimately sympathize.

As Secretary Dulles stated in an address at Cleveland on November 18, 1958, "The United States supports political independence for all peoples who desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities. We have encouraged and we rejoice at the current evolution."

The ability to undertake the responsibilities of independence is achieved, among other things, through development of an adequate political, social and economic structure, through experience in self-government, and through the general understanding of the interdependence of all states in the closely-knit world of the 20th century.

The recent Accra Conference obviously created a "heady" atmosphere and will undoubtedly give impetus to the basic African movement toward self-rule in the area where it does not now exist. The relatively moderate position taken on the fundamental question of violence versus non-violence in the achievement of independence, the trend toward unity of purpose and the emergence of a distinctive African personality give some cause for encouragement to those who favor the peaceful, orderly development of Africa toward self-government and autonomy.

Another observation that seems pertinent in connection with the All-

African Peoples Conference, at which numerous labor organizations were represented, is that many African labor leaders, with their trade union organizations, are playing prominent and even decisive roles in the African independence movement. The United States follows African labor developments with interest, not merely because international communism considers organized labor a primary target, but because of its basic importance in the development of stable regimes in each territory or state. A further indication of the importance of African labor developments is the establishment by the International Labor Organization (ILO) of its first field office in Africa. The office will be located in Lagos, capital of Nigeria.

In view of the many political movements now in motion on the African continent, with the constant requirement for adjustment and accommodation on the part of all concerned, it is particularly significant to note the important new policy announced by the Belgian Government January 13 for the Belgian Congo. Under this program greater immediate participation by Africans in the political life of the Congo is planned, beginning with elections this year for African councillors in towns and most rural areas and election of provincial councils in 1960. These in turn are to elect members of Central and General Legislative Councils. In addition the Government announced that eventual independence was foreseen, but expressed the hope that the Congo would choose association with Belgium.

Regional Federations

In addition to historic changes occurring within African territories, the trend toward formation of regional groupings or federations of independent states to strengthen the independence movement on the continent is perhaps of even greater significance. Let us review for a moment the progress being made towards these groupings, which were so strongly supported by the delegates to the All-African Peoples Conference.



JOSEPH C. SATTERTHWAITE became Assistant Secretary for African Affairs last fall in a post created to handle the State Department's recently established Bureau of African Affairs. The 58-year-old career officer has served as Director General of the Foreign Service, for the African post, and before that as diplomatic agent at Tangier, Ambassador to Ceylon, and Director of the Office of Near East and African Affairs.

We can begin in the West.

On November 23, 1958, President Sékou Touré of Africa's newest independent state, Guinea, and Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana announced a plan to federate their countries to serve as the nucleus of a Union of West African states and said the adherence of other West African territories would be welcomed. The two heads of government agreed: (1) to set up a joint economic commission to study mutual problems of economics and finance as well as means to improve communications; and (2) to appoint a joint constitutional commission to work out a constitution for the two states. The leaders indicated both states would retain ties with their former mother countries, France and Great Britain; would retain local autonomy while at the same time harmonizing their defense, foreign policy and financial and economic policies. Simultaneously Ghana made available to Guinea \$28 million in credits.

Ghana-Guinea Unity

It is difficult to evaluate the evolving Ghana-Guinea Federation, since it remains to be seen how the two governments will in fact coordinate their policies, particularly their monetary systems and their respective relations with the British Commonwealth and

such matters as foreign relations, defense and currency will be the common responsibility of the Community. The latter will be headed by a President and have an Executive Council, legislative body, arbitral tribunal and perhaps an administrative secretariat.

The new French Constitution—approved last September 28—permits any member of the French Community to leave the Community and also provides for territories to become members of the Community either separately or in association with other states. The latter provision has appealed to several French African states which believe that a primary federation can more efficiently perform certain governmental functions such as collection of customs, taxes and director of civil service that can the states individually.

Meeting at Bamako, the last days of 1958, four autonomous republics of French West Africa—Senegal, Sudan, Upper Volta and Dahomey—voted to associate in a primary federation. Principal emphasis in forming this association was on cooperation in the fields of trade, transport and communications but political coordination was also sought.

Although the situation in the four French Equatorial African autonomous republics is unclear, meetings of representatives of these republics have been held to discuss means for

lion West Africans through the final transition to independence in good order.

Movements toward Federation are not limited to West Africa. Last September 16 to 18, African political leaders from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Nyasaland met at Mwanza, Tanganyika, to discuss an East African regional association. Principal results of this conference were the formation of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA), issuance of the Mwanza Charter, and formation of a caretaker committee.

This movement seeks to coordinate African self rule programs in East Africa by means of territorial "freedom committees." Membership is open to "all" nationalist and labor organizations which accept and conform to the policy of Pan-Africanism and the liberation of Africa." Headquarters of their permanent secretariat will be at Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika.

One outcome of this conference was a series of talks at Kampala in November which resulted in an agreement to merge the Uganda National Congress with the United Congress Party of Uganda. It is anticipated that the movement will sponsor similar nationalist party consolidations in Zanzibar. It is evident that this East African movement seeks independence of its territories first and federation later.

In the north along the Mediterranean littoral the dominant political parties of Tunisia and Morocco met with representatives of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) at Tangier, Morocco, in April 1958, to discuss plans for a North African Federation of "Greater Maghreb." Resolutions were approved calling for formation of a Maghrebian Consultative Assembly and a permanent Secretariat.

Consummation of such a Federation will necessarily have to await an Algerian settlement and accordingly demands for Algerian independence are taking precedence over concrete measures for regional cooperation in this area.

Attitude of U.S.A.

What, it may be asked, is the United States' attitude toward the general concept of federation or regional association in Africa?

The United States views with favor political associations of African states, when such associations contribute to political stability and economic viability and are in accordance with the desires of the populations concerned.

As the United States itself is a federation and found the federal principle practical for resolving the need for effective economic and political cooperation among the original 13 colonies, it is natural that this country should view with special interest the trend toward federal associations

☞ *The problems of the multi-racial states in Africa are enormously complicated and permit no pat solution. We must regard them with understanding while at the same time continuing, as in the past, to stand steadfast in all international forums for the principle of non-discrimination and racial equality throughout the world.* ☞

French Community. In the meantime, Ghana and Guinea remain separate and sovereign entities, each with full membership in the United Nations and each responsible for its own foreign affairs. In addition, on January 7, Guinea and France signed a series of three agreements—financial, cultural and technical assistance—which (1) keeps Guinea in the franc zone; (2) retains French as the official language of the country; and (3) authorizes sending of French technicians and administrative advisors to Guinea.

New French Community

In the next few weeks and not later than April 6 the new French Community will be established and functioning. Although French Somaliland voted to retain its present status as an overseas territory of France, the twelve other African member territories have voted to associate with France in the new community as autonomous republics. As such each will have complete local autonomy, but

greater interstate coordination in various fields. What will finally result cannot be safely predicted, although the desire for greater area wide cooperation seems evident.

At a constitutional conference in London last September and October the already established giant West African Federation of Nigeria—Africa's most populous state—determined, with British colonial officials, the steps to be taken to achieve independence within the British Commonwealth on October 1, 1960. The history of the formulation of our own Constitution in 1787 gives us some indication of the problems faced by the Nigerian Federation delegates in London last fall. Seldom has any group of political leaders demonstrated more statesmanlike qualities than those displayed by these Nigerian leaders and British colonial officials at this month-long conference. Although the Federation must still face the stresses and strains of a national election this year, the Nigerians have given every evidence of being capable of carrying their important federation of some 35 mil-

in other parts of the world. But African federation, after all, is an African problem and will have to be solved by Africans.

Another important development in current African political evolution is the anticipated achievement of independence by four United Nations Trust Territories in 1960. The United States has followed with interest the political evolution of French Togo, Somaliland under Italian Administration and British and French Camerouns and in the 13th session of the United Nations General Assembly supported all resolutions designed to pave the way for their independence.

Standing out on the current African political scene are two very serious problems: (1) that of achieving a just racial policy in multi-racial areas of settlement; and (2) that of maintaining the freedom of the African nationalist movement from the interference of international communism.

Racial problems in West Africa have been almost non-existent because non-Africans have come there almost exclusively as traders, missionaries, teachers, administrators or technicians, and not as settlers. In East, Central and Southern Africa, however, the problem is that of working out equitable policies to govern relations between several races living side by side. Fundamentally it is not contact between Africans, Europeans, Asians and Arabs alone that gives rise to serious race problems in this area, but rather social and economic competition between several permanently established racial groups. The overall problem revolves around two factors: (1) The African's aspiration to increase his share of his country's great natural resources and production and to achieve more nearly the European living standard; and (2) the aspiration of African nationalists for a "one man, one vote" electoral policy and eventual African majority rule.

From the U. S.: Understanding

The United States cannot ignore the serious dangers inherent in any failure to meet the problem of harmonious, just race relations in Africa's dependent and independent territories. But the United States, in view of its continuing domestic problems in the field of race relations, must in good conscience and with appropriate humility, avoid attempting to suggest specific solutions to

Conference members hear Satterthwaite deliver speech at the regional American Assembly session held at Tulane University, Biloxi, Miss.



any African territory. The problems of the multi-racial states in Africa are enormously complicated and permit no pat solution. We must regard them with understanding while at the same time continuing, as in the past, to stand steadfast in all international forums for the principle of non-discrimination and racial equality throughout the world. Then, insofar as we are able to set the good example by solving our own race relations problem, we will be better able to contribute to constructive and moderate solutions of similar problems in Africa.

Soviet Efforts in Africa

In addition to the thorny race problem, Africa today faces the major danger of the 20th century—that of predatory international communism, the new imperialism of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Under active Russian guidance, the aggressive Soviet bloc is now directing a subtle effort toward influencing the burgeoning African nationalist independence movement.

Noting this problem facing all newly independent areas, Secretary Dulles declared in his recent Cleveland address that the United States must "recognize that under present conditions newly created nations face a formidable task. They are marked out by International Communism as special prey. It is classic Communist doctrine, enunciated by Lenin, that Communism should initially stimulate 'nationalism' in order to break the ties between colonial areas and the colonial power. Then Communism should move in to 'amalgamate' the newly independent peoples into the

Communist bloc."

The diversified Soviet tactics employed in Africa today are designed to promote identification with emerging nationalist elements and further to reduce Western influence in the newly independent states by rapidly establishing political relations and signing economic and trade agreements.

As Secretary Dulles also said at Cleveland: "There is great danger that newly granted independence may turn out to be but a brief interlude between the rule of colonialism and the harsh dictatorship of International Communism."

He added, however: "We must not . . . because of that risk, abandon our basic faith in the right and capacity of peoples to govern themselves. What is needed is to reinforce that faith with a resolve to help the new nations to solve their problems in freedom and thus to preserve their newly found independence."

The first African problem requiring our assistance in this context is of course the socio-economic problem.

Africa: Colossal Needs

Africa's economic and social needs, like her political and racial problems are as colossal as the continent itself. The basic list must include the need for developmental investment capital, both private and public; for more skilled labor, technicians and executives; for more and better transportation and communication facilities; for diversification of one crop economies, improved agricultural techniques and the development of small industries; and above all, for more widespread medical, public health and educational facilities.

In general terms, economists who have devoted much consideration to the problem of developing the world's underdeveloped economies believe that all such economies reflect a condition of stable or quasi-stable equilibrium wherein any tendency toward improvement in per capita income is counter-balanced and dissipated through a fall in mortality rates. A

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major aspect of the problem, in short, is one of breaking through this vicious circle by introducing capital investment and improved technology in sufficient magnitude and in sufficiently effective form to bring about a net gain which would pave the way to sustained economic growth.

Africa's socio-economic problems, in sum, constitute a major challenge to the West. No one nation can possibly solve them alone. Africa must have and deserves the cooperative support of her free world partners in this endeavor. Happily much has already been done and more is being organized.

Just a few weeks ago the inaugural session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) was held at Addis Ababa, its permanent headquarters. . .

Speakers at the opening session of UNECA—which now has 15 members and nine associate members—were generally agreed that Africa's currently artificial political boundaries should not be allowed to develop into economic barriers as new territories gained independence. There was general recognition of the need for regional cooperation in both planning and executing economic programs; and general agreement that much help is still needed from the more highly developed countries, particularly in the fields of technical training, development of adequate statistics and providing investment capital.

United Nations Aid

Aside from creating the Economic Commission for Africa, the United Nations has contributed considerably to Africa's economic development in the last decade. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) has loaned more than \$400,000,000 to African states and territories since its operations began. Bank President Eugene R. Black contemplates that the annual rate of investment in Africa by the International Bank will expand this year. The United States contributes 40 per cent of the Bank's funds.

United Nations and Specialized Agency technical assistance programs have shown acute awareness of the increasing needs of African states and territories and the ability of this area to benefit substantially from multi-lateral technical assistance. The United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Program—to which the United States is also the major contributor—is financed by voluntary contributions from some 80 governments and is carried out by the United Nations and such United Nations agencies as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO).

The share of the Expanded Program's total resources allocated to the African region has risen from

about 9 per cent in 1956 to 15 per cent in the 1959 budget, under which African programs will be allocated approximately 4 million. The United States has consistently encouraged this trend in the program's administration.

United States foreign economic policy has been founded on a clear recognition of American interdependence and mutuality of interest with

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other nations of the Free World, including those of Africa. In Fiscal Year 1958 the Mutual Security Program for Africa totaled \$77 million and in the current Fiscal Year (1959) the total will be still higher. The bulk of this aid has been going to the North African states, but sub-Saharan territories are now figuring more importantly in the overall aid picture, particularly in the field of technical assistance. Countries now receiving United States economic or technical assistance are Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Liberia, Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, the British East African territories and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

By comparison, of course, the European countries with African interests have been providing assistance and investment at the rate of approximately \$700 million a year.

U. S. Bank Loans

The United States Export-Import Bank has been lending African states and territories up to \$10 to \$15 million annually for development projects. In addition the new Development Loan Fund (DLF) has approved loans to Liberia, Tunisia, Libya and Somalia and has several additional loan applications from African states pending.

European and American private investment are vital to African trade and economic development. European private investment in the continent figures in the billions; U. S. private investment totals about \$624 million, roughly one-half of which is in the Union of South Africa. United States trade with Africa totals about \$1.1 billion annually and the raw materials which Africa provides the United States have a value to our economy not measurable in dollars.

The philosophy which motivates the basic American approach to the problem of African economic and social development was well stated by Dr. Walter M. Kotschnig, United States Official Observer at the inaugural

session of the Economic Commission for Africa. Dr. Kotschnig said the United States defines economic and social development as an “investment in human beings.” “There is little meaning,” he went on, “and perhaps even real disadvantage in economic development which does not have as its primary objective raising the levels of living of people, all the people. Steel mills, machine tool plants, power

developments and any number of earth satellites mean very little unless they permit the individual in our respective societies to live a fuller life in greater freedom. This means better education, better health, a greater volume of consumer goods and the right to enjoy all these benefits without dictation and regimentation from above.”

New Africa Evolving

As the old Africa refashions its visage and the new, vibrant, and politically articulate Africa evolves, the United States recognizes the challenge of the hour—the challenge to contribute to the stability and orderly evolution of this giant continent; to be responsive to its needs and sympathetic to its legitimate aspirations.

It is evident that the new Africa is generally opposed to racial discrimination and rule from without; that it is earnestly seeking greater unity of purpose; that it shows considerable favor to the creation of regional associations to meet the need for co-ordinated social, economic and political development; that the United Nations Trusteeship System and other United Nations activities are materially assisting the orderly advancement of the continent; that Africans need important outside assistance to meet their pressing economic problems; and that international communism is actively working to subvert African nationalism to its purpose. The West must show dedication and imagination and build a new relationship with the dynamic 20th century Africa based on principles of equality, justice and mutual understanding.

In a spirit of partnership, of enlightened good will and generosity worthy of its position as a major world power, the United States must assist Africa to achieve its objectives by peaceful and orderly means. Active support of the American intellectual and private community to this end is essential.

UN Economic Commission for Africa:

A report on the first meeting

PROF. W. ARTHUR LEWIS, former Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister of Ghana, recently briefed representatives of non-governmental organizations at the United Nations on results of the first meeting of the Economic Commission for Africa, held Dec. 29 to Jan. 6 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The meeting was attended by representatives of member states, specialized agencies, non-member states and accredited non-governmental organizations.

As the first two items on its work program, the newly-formed Commission decided to make a study of the economic unification of West Africa and a similar study for Northwest Africa, north of the Sahara. Prof. Lewis said. Excerpts from his report on the meeting follow:

Large Participation

"The meeting was extremely well attended. The only African state which was absent was the Union of South Africa, which wrote to the Executive Secretary, explaining that,

in the opinion of the Union Government, Africa is in two parts, Africa north of the Sahara and Africa south of the Sahara; the Government does not favor a commission which includes both north and south, and therefore, prefers to wait and see how the Commission develops before taking a final decision on whether to participate.

"All the British colonies were represented as Associate Members but if my memory serves me rightly there were no other colonies represented directly as Associate Members, except the Trust Territory of Somaliland. The French delegation explained that just at this moment the relationship between the French African autonomous republics and France were in a state of flux, and would not be decided until the senate of the French Community met within a couple of months. The French delegation did not feel able to speak for the French African republics, and the French Community was not yet in a position to determine how it would be represented at the Economic Commission for Africa. The Belgian Congo was

also not directly represented. One assumes that in the course of time, most of the the colonies will be represented as Associate Members.

Politics Subdued

"The general debate was more or less unexciting, but this was all to the good. What everybody said more or less was that Africa was a continent capable of developing, but certainly under-developed, and they were glad that the Economic Commission had been started to help to develop Africa. We heard these remarks about 30 or 40 times in the course of two days and the debate was unexciting because everybody was on his best behavior. All the people whom one might have expected to introduce some sort of excitement into the Commission were anxious not to do so. In a friendly way at dinner one evening after it was all over, I commented to the leader of one of the delegations how surprised I was at how subdued he had been in the course of the past week. He laughed and said that he had been deliberately subdued; he had even checked with his Prime Minister before he came, and his Prime Minister had agreed that he should be subdued, because this was the first meeting, and it was desirable that the Commission should be established and get on its way without being involved in politics. And we did succeed in doing our business with extremely little politics."

EEC Excluded

"What gave us the most difficulty of all, very surprisingly, was the European Economic Community; a whole day was spent on discussing whether it should be given observer status . . . Some European and some African members felt strongly that since Africa is very much affected by the European Economic Community and, since it does operate in Africa, in the sense that many African territories are associated with it, then it would be better to have the European Economic Community directly associated with the Economic Commission for Africa. Others felt very strongly that the European Economic Community should be excluded, and they emphasized their opposition by saying that they would agree to the European Economic Community only if the Magrebi Union (consisting of Morocco, Tunis and the newly established Government of Algeria) were accorded the same status. Obviously this inflamed those who were opposed to the new Government of Algeria, and there was a bitter argument behind the scenes for a day,

ECONOMIC NOTES

AFRICAN governments hoping to obtain assistance for local developmental projects from the U.S. Development Loan Fund shared the Administration's dismay at the March 9 vote of a House of Representatives appropriations subcommittee to cut a presidential request for \$225,000,000 for the Fund to \$50,000,000.

The Development Loan Fund, established two years ago to extend financial assistance to underdeveloped countries abroad, has exhausted its funds for 1958/59, and is seeking the \$225,000,000 as a supplemental appropriation to carry it through to the end of this fiscal year, June 30.

A total of nearly \$30,000,000 has been lent in six African countries since the Fund was established. Pending applications for loans in Africa amount to "a substantially higher figure," according to DLF officials in Washington.

OLIN MATHIESON CHEMICAL CORPORATION and its subsidiary, Omaf Corporation, have concluded investment guarantee contracts with the International Cooperation Administration aimed at insuring their proposed investment in a \$133,000,000 international project to develop the rich

bauxite deposits of newly-independent Guinea and to produce alumina there. The American firms some time ago joined with French, British, Swiss, and West German interests to form a new company, known as FRIA, to construct what will be one of the world's largest plants for the reduction of bauxite into alumina. Target date for completion of the necessary facilities, including 96 miles of railways, is 1962.

The ICA investment guarantee insures against expropriation up to \$36,261,000 for Omaf, and \$19,800,000 for Olin Mathieson. Total insurance coverage from all sources obtained by the American participants is reportedly \$72,000,000.

PRIME MINISTER Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana presented his \$980,000,000 second Five Year Plan, aimed at "laying the real foundations of Ghana's economic independence," before the National Assembly for approval on March 4. The plan includes development of Ghana's hydroelectric potential (at a cost of about \$280,000,000); the establishment of some 600 new industrial enterprises; promotion of the tourist industry; and extension of broadcasting facilities and introduction of television.

which resulted in the exclusion of both."

"The main business of the meeting was to decide on the work program. We were aware that the Executive Secretary had no research staff at the time of this meeting, and that it might take him six months to recruit research staff; also that the kind of research he would be able to do would depend on the kind of staff he was able to recruit; so there was no point in giving him a rigid program. It was agreed, therefore, that he should have the utmost flexibility. Certain subjects were picked out to which he was asked to give priority. Apart from that there is a long list of other subjects which he can deal with if and when he gets the resources.

"Secondly it was agreed that the Commission's publications should be addressed primarily to the experts working on African affairs. That is to say that the Commission should avoid writing general surveys, or producing documents of an information kind which would be of interest to the general reader. What the Commission should try to do is to become exceedingly expert so that the economic experts working for governments in Africa, who would be its main clients, would look forward to its publications and find new insights in the Commission's work. It was felt that in the first instance, the Commission should establish itself as a highly expert body, directing its activities primarily to helping the experts the governments employ, and enabling them to make better policies for their governments.

"A third general point about the program was that it was agreed that one of the major tasks of the Economic Commission is what is called in the document "concerted action," that is to say to assist the Governments and territories to do joint schemes in the economic field. As it was expressed by the delegate of Ghana, the European powers are now moving out of Africa; as they move out they leave behind a lot of little states with populations of one million, two million, three million, and there is grave danger of the "balkanization" of Africa into lots of tiny states. It is one of the principal functions of the Economic Commission in the economic field to prevent this happening, not at the political level, but by helping these countries to make economic arrangements which will prevent a whole series of barriers to trade and economic life in Africa.

"The Executive Secretary is asked to send someone to West Africa to make a factual study of all the possible forms of economic co-operation, whether it be use of transport facilities, or joint investment programs, or rivers or study of fishing grounds in West Africa or whatever it might be. This is to be done at the factual level—not taking account of the po-

litical obstacles. This report is to be presented to the next session, when the Commission will decide how the political obstacles should be tackled. A similar study is to be made in North Africa.

Precise Staff Studies

"At one stage, it was suggested that the Economic Commission should make a survey of the resources of Africa in general, and in particular make a survey of resources suitable for manufacturing industries. This proposal was rejected on the ground that such a general survey would be a geography textbook, and that it should not be the function of the Commission to operate at that level. What the Executive Secretary should do in this field is to appoint to his staff one or two very competent people who could go into a territory, spend six months there, and do a precise and concrete study of the particular resources which should be developed next year. That is the kind of level at which the Commission should operate rather than at the level of general survey. So the Executive Secretary was asked to appoint to his staff people who would be able to go to the territories and stay in the territories, and give assistance in making surveys.

"Similarly, with development programming, we don't want a general survey of the development programs of Africa, or general discussions of the theory of development programs, but specific assistance to be given to countries by experts in the making of their development programs. Similarly with the formulation of technical assistance requests. There are Technical Assistance Board representatives in a number of these countries, but not in all of them and at the request of any government the Executive Secretary should give assistance in the formation of technical assist-

Institute Elects Davis to Board

John Warren Davis has been elected to the Board of Trustees of the African-American Institute. Dr. Davis is Special Director, Teacher Information and Security, Legal Defense and Educational Fund (New York), and President Emeritus of West Virginia State College. He holds honorary degrees



Davis

from several American colleges, among them Harvard University and Howard University, and in 1955 was awarded the "Order of the Star of Africa" by Liberia, where he was U. S. director of the Technical Cooperation Administration, 1953-54.

ance requests for assistance from the United Nations Special Fund, and so on."

"There are a number of other items in the Program. There is to be a conference in 1959 of people in Africa actually engaged in community development. There is to be a meeting of economic experts in 1959. Here again the same question arose. This appeared first of all as a proposal that there should be a meeting of economic experts to discuss what is needed for the development of Africa. The feeling was that we know what is needed for the development of Africa. Africa needs money, trained people, and so forth. We do not want a general treatise on this subject. The Executive Secretary was instructed to pick three or four quite specific topics which are a headache to African Governments, and to have a conference on those topics.

"The Executive Secretary was also instructed to study the impact of the European Economic Community on the trade of African states. Also, there is to be a statistical conference, and a statistical handbook of Africa is to be prepared.

"These are the main items which were selected as mandatory items. In addition there is a list of other things which it would be desirable for the Executive Secretary to study if and when he got the resources to do so."

"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

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Whither West Africa?

French West Africa, by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, Stanford University Press, 1958; 626 pages, \$8.50.

By JOHN MARCUM

JUST AS this much needed survey made its appearance, French West Africa was ceasing to exist—at least in its previous form.

Of the eight French territories dealt with in this thick volume, the Republic of Guinea has become independent and allied itself with Ghana, the Ivory Coast Republic has renounced any participation in a West African Federation in favor of bilateral ties with France and other members of the Franco-African Community, and Mauritania has constituted itself into an Islamic Republic under a dynamic young ruler, Mokhtar Ould Daddah, who is unmentioned in the book under review.

Of the remaining five territories, Senegal, Sudan and Upper Volta have moved tentatively to form the Federation of Mali while the course in Niger and Dahomey is less clear. Although changes in the French territories have taken place with breathtaking speed since this book was completed in early 1957, the value of the volume, as general background reading on a subject which has a mighty thin English or even French language literature, remains intact. In systematizing and summarizing the complex political and economic evolution of French West Africa, with a stress on the period since World War II, the authors have performed a herculean task. With clarity and objectivity, they do an excellent job of making sense out of economic, financial, agricultural, industrial and trade policies and conditions.

It might seem unsporting, then, to express the regret that more attention was not given to the relationship of tribalism and ethnic groups to the political scene. The inclusion of ethnic and language maps would have been helpful.

It is not a criticism to suggest that this work is to be read in rather than through. As a reference book and a teaching aid, its wealth of well-organized and indexed information represents a major contribution covering a neglected area of Africa. Perhaps its value can best be appreciated when considering how welcome its companion volume on French Equatorial Africa will be.

For one to up-date, and then keep up-to-date with, the political and economic evolution of French-speaking West Africa, Thompson and Adloff should be supplemented by reading in a growing list of French-language literature. Concerning political change,

two volumes are recommended:

(1) *AOF Entre en Scène*, by Ernest Milcent, with a preface by Léopold Senghor (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Homme d'Action, 1958); a brief and thoughtful analysis by a French journalist many years resident in Africa and unsuspect of government bias;

(2) *L'itinéraire des Partis Africains Depuis Bamako*, by André Blanchet, (Paris: Plon, Tribune Libre, no. 31, 1958); the insight of *Le Monde's* chief African correspondent into the historic RDA conference at Bamako in 1957, and its aftermath.

For an articulate anti-colonialist and vigorous assertion of "African personality," one should read the protest of the young African intellectual, Albert Tevoedjre, *L'Afrique Révoltée*, preface by Alioune Diop (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1958).

And to this dimension should be added the reflections of a liberal European whose political services are no longer needed in an Africa for Africans, L. P. Aujoulat, *Aujourd'hui l'Afrique* (Paris and Tournai: Casterman, 1958).

To keep abreast of political and economic developments there are three "must" periodicals in addition to a variety of party and trade union papers covering "French West Africa":

(1) *L'Afrique Nouvelle*, a weekly published by the White Fathers (P. O. Box 283, Dakar), featuring objective political, economic and social reporting.

(2) *Lettre Africaine*, a tightly written and interpretative weekly newsletter put out by an enterprising young journalist, Gil Dugue (P. O. Box 6096, Dakar).

(3) *La Semaine en AOF*, a weekly published by the Information Service of the High Commission, Dakar, consisting of a looseleaf, official review of events and the West African press.

For economic affairs, the Dakar High Commission publishes a valuable monthly, the *Bulletin Statistique et Economique de l'AOF*.

The Westminster Singers, a group of 22 graduates from Westminster College in Princeton, N. J., has embarked on a four-month singing tour of Africa, under auspices of the President's special international program for cultural presentations.

KEEP UP WITH AFRICA

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AFRICAN TOURS

A 1959 African tour sponsored by the National Educational Association is geared for teachers and others in the field of education who want to study the educational and cultural life of Africa. The itinerary includes Nigeria, Ghana, the Belgian Congo, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Egypt, and features meetings with local teachers in the areas. Academic credit for the 5½ week tour, which begins June 25 in New York City, is being made available by Northern Illinois University. Further information may be obtained from the Division of Travel Service, National Education Association, 1201 16th St., N. W. Washington, D. C.

Africa Tour 1959, to be conducted this summer by Professor Gwendolyn Carter, Smith College, and Mr. and Mrs. James Gardner, Johannesburg, South Africa, offers studies of African governments, meetings with political leaders, visits to housing schemes, farms and mines, and an overnight stay at famous Treetops Hotel in Kenya. The two-month tour is limited to 25 members, with special rates for college students, and will cover Kenya, Zanzibar, Tanganyika, the Rhodesias, South Africa and Swaziland. Further information may be obtained from Miss Carter, 64 Bates Street, Northampton, Mass.

THE CAMEROONS

(Continued from page 8)

affairs of their country. This has largely been the result of educational policy. Education is the largest single item on the territory's budget, and in the south nearly every child of school age has a place in either a mission or government primary school. In the Muslim north, the rate is very low and brings the average percentage of children of school age actually at school in the whole territory to 50%. Even this is much higher than in other French African territories. At present, over 1,000 Cameroonians are studying in France.

Independence will undoubtedly bring many problems for the French Cameroons. At least it has had over a year to prepare for the day when its own flag of red, yellow and green will fly unaccompanied by the tricolor. It will not suffer the hardships of Guinea, which got its independence overnight. French officials, if not businessmen and settlers, are working hand in hand with Cameroonians for independence, and most of them seem to feel that independence will be a success.

Having once decided that independence is inevitable, the French are obviously trying to persuade Cameroonians by example that Franco-African cooperation after independence will be worthwhile.

NEXT MOVES WEIGHED IN NYASALAND TURMOIL

(Continued from page 4)

tural and economic advance would require pressing on with the latter, and "would call for a much greater effort, especially in education, than is being made today"

Alternatives Pondered

Aside from deciding on statements, Whitehall had to consider alternative courses of action. A grant of independence to the Federation in 1960 was doubtful even before the Nyasaland events, and now even a policy of "non-interference" seemed unlikely. Beyond that, there were several possibilities, always bearing in mind old settler threats of a Salisbury-type "Boston Tea Party," if the lion roars too loudly:

1. Allowing Nyasaland to vote itself out, seen by Africans as the quickest way to break up the Federation, despite the economic problems it might create in Nyasaland.

2. Allowing Northern Rhodesia to leave the Federation as well, thus committing the territory's copper reserves to African rule in line with the pattern now established by France and Belgium.

3. Adopting a compromise along the lines suggested in Salisbury by the Dominion Party (and oddly enough—to Mr. Kaunda's and Mr. Nkumbula's dismay—by Dr. Banda) of partitioning Northern Rhodesia and handing the parts of economic importance over to an independent Salisbury government, with Nyasaland and the remainder of Northern Rhodesia going under African rule.

4. Maintaining the Federation, but recognizing the likelihood of African political predominance sooner or later and trying to prepare the way, educationally and psychologically, for when it comes. In this connection, proposals for giving Nyasaland internal autonomy within the Federation raised the question of whether the territories, as they become self-governing, are to be given the right to secede, as was done by de Gaulle in French Africa. If so, the Salisbury government would be obliged to produce de Gaulle-like statesmanship and de Gaulle-like reforms to hold the apparatus together. If not, then just as Nyasalanders would be compelled to realize the economic advantages of remaining in a Federation presently dominated by Europeans, so Southern Rhodesians might some day be compelled to accept the economic advantages of remaining in a Federation governed primarily by the Africans they had in the meantime presumably been civilizing for such a task.

With so many alternatives, each with its possible advantages and pitfalls, it was no wonder Britons of all parties called for steadiness and statesmanship in the period ahead.

Tropical Africa, 1959



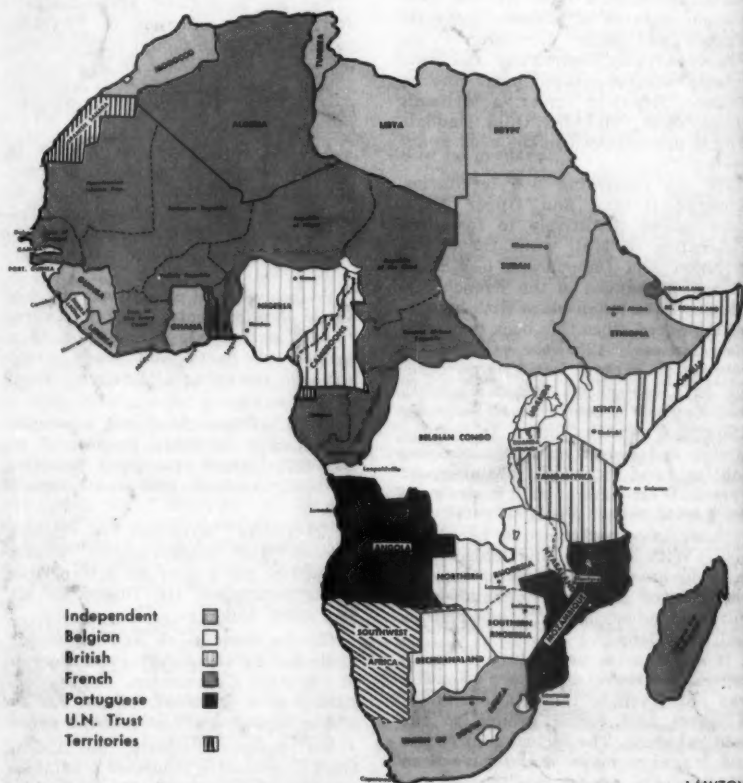
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LAWTON

DISTURBANCES in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland come at a time when the whole of tropical Africa, from Dakar at the westernmost tip, across a huge arc stretching 4,000 miles to Dar es Salaam on the Indian Ocean, is in the midst of change. New constitutions for the French Community territories and Belgium's pledge of ultimate independence for the Congo are among the latest developments in the rapid movement toward self-rule—a movement dramatized by the Accra meeting of African political leaders in December.

Recent months have seen promises of independence in 1960 for the Cameroons and Togoland under French administration, and for Nigeria, by population the 13th largest state in the world. On Africa's eastern horn, the former Italian Somalia also will receive independence in 1960, and neighboring British Somaliland has likewise been promised early self-determination. In East Africa, British-administered Tanganyika, biggest of the U.N. trust territories, has been given assurances of future African rule. The question of African rule remains unresolved in Kenya, the Rhodesias, Nyasaland and the Portuguese territories as the old days of colonialism give way to the new days of African nation-building throughout much of the continent.



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